

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 167880
ORIGIN SS-15

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S E C R E T STATE 167880

EXDIS, NOFORN, USSALTTWO FOR SALT TWO GENEVA

FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 11815 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO LONDON,
PARIS AND USNATO JUN 27.

QUOTE: S E C R E T BONN 11815

EXDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, SALT, GW, US
SUBJECT: GRAY-AREA WEAPON SYSTEMS

BEGIN SUMMARY: FOREIGN OFFICE NATO AND SALT DEPARTMENT
DIRECTORS DANNENBRING AND CITRON EACH RAISED ISSUE OF
GRAY-AREA WEAPONS DURING JUNE 26 CONVERSATIONS WITH
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VISITING S/P MEMBER KAPLAN. ISSUE ALSO AROSE AT DEFENSE
MINISTRY. KAPLAN NOTED FRG ARMS CONTROL COMMISSIONER
RUTH'S CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON AND STRESSED US
DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN ALLIED OPTIONS. BEYOND
POSITIONS TO BE PRESENTED BY RUTH, GERMAN OFFICIALS
VOLUNTEERED FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND ON CURRENT
FRG THINKING. REMARKS WERE MADE IN CONFIDENCE AND

SOURCES SHOULD BE PROTECTED. END SUMMARY.

1. DANNENBRING AND CITRON SAID FRG PREFERRED IF POSSIBLE TO DEAL WITH SS-20 AND GRAY-AREA ISSUES THROUGH ARMS R CONTROL BUT THOUGHT THIS COULD BE DIFFICULT UNLESS WEST FIRST DEPLOYED LONGER-RANGE STRIKE SYSTEMS AS "BARGAINING CHIPS." WHILE AWARE THAT MIRV "BARGAINING CHIPS" THEORY DID NOT WORK AFTER SALT ONE, THEY EXPECTED SOME COMBINATION OF ARMS CONTROL AND HARDWARE DEPLOYMENTS WOULD BE NECESSARY.

2. DANNENBRING AND CITRON RECOGNIZED THAT ACTUAL DEPLOYMENT DECISIONS WOULD PRODUCE MASSIVE SOVIET CRITICISM. THEY ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED DIVERGENT ALLIED VIEWS ON ARMS CONTROL AFFECTING THEATER SYSTEMS.

3. ON ISSUE OF POSSIBLE ARMS CONTROL FORUM, DANNENBRING AND CITRON SAID THERE WAS WIDE RECOGNITION THAT GAS WOULD UNDULY COMPLICATE MBFR. A "THIRD TABLE" (I.E. TALT) NEGOTIATION ALSO HAD MANY PROBLEMS, INCLUDING DANGER OF DECOUPLING AND STRONG FRENCH OPPOSITION. BOTH THOUGHT IT BEST TO DEAL WITH GRAY-AREA ISSUE BILATERALLY BETWEEN US AND SOVIETS, IN SALT THREE. THEY STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT SPECIAL ALLIED CONSULTATIONS PROCEDURES WOULD BE REQUIRED. CITRON REFERRED TO POSSIBLE "SALT SPC." DANNENBRING REFERRED
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TO ANALOGY WITH BERLIN QUADRIPARTITE NEGOTIATIONS, WHERE GERMANS WERE NOT PRESENT AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE BUT "WERE NEARBY IN THE NEXT ROOM."

4. DANNENBRING AND CITRON SAID FRG HOPED TO MOVE IN GOOD TIME INTO MORE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS OF GAS ISSUES, PARTLY TO PRECLUDE CONCERNED EUROPEANS FROM ADVOCATING IRRESPONSIBLE IDEAS. THEY ALSO RECOGNIZED, HOWEVER, THAT CONCLUSION OF SALT TWO AND SUBSEQUENT US RATIFICATION PROCESS WOULD PLACE SOME CONSTRAINTS ON THIS DIALOGUE. HE THOUGHT SCHMIDT WOULD RAISE GRAY-AREA AGAIN WITH PRESIDENT IN BONN.

5. CITRON OFFERED CONCEPTUAL SUGGESTION THAT WE REFINE OUR TERMINOLOGY FOR STRATEGIC AND THEATER WEAPONS BY REFERRING TO "STRATEGIC WEAPONS WITH INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE" AND "STRATEGIC MIDDLE-RANGE WEAPONS CAPABLE OF REACHING ANY ALLIED STATE." HE WARNED FRG MAY HAVE BEEN RISKING DOCTRINAL DECOUPLING BY SPEAKING SO MUCH IN PUBLIC ABOUT THEATER BALANCES AND EURO-STRATEGIC WEAPONS.

6. IN CONVERSATION WITH BRIG. GENERAL TANDECKI, DEFENSE
MINISTRY DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL-MILITARY STAFF,
SAME POINTS WERE MADE. TANDECKI SAID HE EXPECTED EARLY
MEETING OF FRG FEDERAL SECURITY COUNCIL TO SEEK CONCEPT
FOR GRAY-AREA ISSUES. HE COMMENTED THAT CHANCELLOR AND
DEFENSE MINISTER ARE CONCERNED OVER SS-20 BUT STRESSED
THAT "CHANCELLOR IS NOT GRAY-AREA MAD." ALL SOURCES
STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE,
COHERENT STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH BOTH ARMS CONTROL
AND DEFENSE ELEMENTS OF GRAY-AREA PROBLEM. STOESEL
UNQUOTE VANCE

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NNN

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